

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 181361

BUCHAREST FOR AMB YOUNG - MASERU FOR STONEY COOKS

FOL RPT DURBAN 0413 ACTION SECSTATE INFO DAR ES SALAAM
GABORONE LONDON LUSAKA MAPUTO PRETORIA 17 JUL 78 QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L DURBAN 0413

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SUBJ: RHODESIA: GRAHAM/LOW CONVERSATIONS IN SALISBURY:
JULY 12-14

1. SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVE.

THE ACTING HEAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESENTATION IN
SALISBURY GERT NELS CAME BY FOR A DRINK WEDNESDAY EVENING
JULY 12 WITH GRAHAM AND ME. NELS IS IN CHARGE FOLLOWING
THE DEATH BY A HEART ATTACK OF THE FORMER CHIEF OF THEIR
REPRESENTATION, OLIVIER, WHO WAS AN ABLE OBSERVER OF THE
RHODESIAN SCENE. NELS, ON THE CONTRARY, IS NEITHER PERCEPTIVE
NOR UNBIASED. HE SEES HIS ROLE HERE AS TRYING TO SUPPORT
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THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT AND KEEP UP A BRAVE FRONT ABOUT ITS
POSSIBILITIES. THUS HE REPORTS OPTIMISTICALLY, THOUGH HE
FINDS HIS OWN DISCOURAGEMENT OVER THE SECURITY SITUATION AND
THE LACK OF LEADERSHIP FROM THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL GROWING.
ONE CAN ONLY HOPE THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS OTHER
SOURCES OF INFORMATION TO FOLLOW WHAT IS GOING ON IN RHODESIA.
THE CONVERSATION UNDERLINED TO US THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING
CONTACT WITH BRAND FOURIE IN PRETORIA TO MAKE CERTAIN THAT
THE SAG IS ACCURAGELY INFORMED ON THE SATE OF AFFAIRS.

2. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS.

GRAHAM AND I MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA STUDENTS UNION LED BY ITS PRESIDENT, CHATIBOBO. A YEAR AGO, THE UNIVERSITY WAS REPORTED TO BE PRO MUZOREWA. HOWEVER, SHORTLY AFTER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WAS SIGNED A GROUP OF STUDENTS DEMONSTRATED AGAINST IT. IF THE GROUP WE MET WITH ON THE 13TH IS REPRESENTATIVE, THE STUDENT BODY HAS NOW TURNED AGAINST THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THE SEVEN WHO CAME TO SEE US WERE UNANIMOUS IN CONDEMNING THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT AND SUPPORTING THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. THEY WERE CRITICAL OF UK-US "SUPPORT" FOR THE REGIME AND OUT ATTEMPTS TO ORGANIZE AN ALL PARTIES MEETING, ALTHOUGH WHEN PRESSED THEY RECOGNIZED THAT THERE WAS AN ADVANTAGE TO THAT OVER SIMPLY CONTINUING THE WAR.

3. FORMER UANC VICE PRESIDENT.

NDEMER, RECENTLY DISMISSED VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UANC, ASKED TO SEE GRAHAM AND ME AT MIRIMBA HOUSE ON JULY 13. HE BROUGHT ALONG HIS ASSISTANT, MUGORE. THE TWO CLAIM THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE UANC BELOW THE LEVEL OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SUPPORT AN ALL PARTY MEETING AND ARE CRITICAL

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OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THE NOTED THAT ITS ACCEPTANCE HAD NEVER BEEN APPROVED BY THE WHOLE PARTY. MUZOREWA WAS AFRAID TO CONSULT THE PARTY BECAUSE HE HAD TOO MUCH OF A STAKE IN CONTINUING WITH THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT. ABOUT ONE-THIRD OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE SUPPORT AN ALL PARTY MEETING. NDEMER AND HIS COMPANION WILL CONTINUE TO LOBBY FOR IT. AS ORGANIZING SECRETARY NDEMER SAID HE HAD SPENT MOST OF HIS TIME TRAVELING THROUGH THE COUNTRY STIMULATING SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY. HE THEREFORE KNEW IT BETTER THAN THE PEOPLE AROUND MUZOREWA AND KNEW THE VIEWS OF ITS MEMBERSHIP. HE WAS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT AN ELECTION SAYING THAT NO ONE OUTSIDE OF THE CITIES WOULD TAKE PART IN IT. THOSE WHO LIVED IN THE TTLS WOULD SIMPLY REFUSE TO VOTE. WE SUGGESTED TO NDEMER AND HIS COMPANION THAT THEY MAKE THEIR VIEWS KNOWN. THEY GAVE NO INDICATION IN THEIR CONVERSATION THAT THEY HAD ANY INTENTION OF ABANDONING THE UANC OR MOVING TO THE PATRIOTIC FRONT.

4. ZAPU INTERNAL LEADERS.

WE MET WITH CHINAMANO AND MUZARURWA. THEY APPRECIATED BEING UPDATED ABOUT OUR MEETINGS WITH NKOMO, MUGABE AND THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS. CHINAMANO CONTINUED TO BELIEVE THAT THE GREATEST PROBLEM WE WOULD HAVE AT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING WOULD BE ON THE INTERIM PERIOD STRUCTURE. SOMEHOW WE WOULD BE ABLE TO WORK OUT SPECIAL WHITE REPRESENTATION IN AN INDEPENDENCE CONSITITUION. CHINAMANO EXPLAINED RECENT TALK

ABOUT INVITING A MEMBER OF THE NDEBELE TRIBE TO TAKE A PLACE ON THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. HE SAID THIS WAS BEING PROPOSED BY CHIEF NDIWENI AT THE BEHEST OF THE RHODESIA FRONT. THEY HAD ASKED JOSHUA NKOMO TO ACCEPT THE POSITION BUT HE, OF COURSE, HAS NO INTENTION OF DOING SO. THE RF IS TRYING TO ENCOURAGE TRIBALISM IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE POSITION OF WHITES IN THE COUNTRY, HE SAID.

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5. SEPTEMBER DECLARATION MOVEMENT.

PETER GIBBS DROVE OVER FROM BULAWAYO TO PRESENT THE BRITISH WITH A NEW STATEMENT FROM THE MOVEMENT. THE SEPTEMBER DECLARATION IS A GROUP OF MODERATE, WELL INFORMED PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS FROM THE WHITE COMMUNITY WHICH TWO YEARS AGO COLLECTED 30,000 WHITE SIGNATURES ON A DECLARATION SUPPORTING MAJORITY RULE. A MONTH AGO GRAHAM HAD MET WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF THE GROUP IN BULAWAYO. THEY HAD STATED THEIR SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. WHILE RECOGNIZING ITS IMPERFECTIONS THEY INSISTED THAT SUPPORTING IT WAS THE ONLY WAY OUT OF RHODESIA'S DIFFICULTIES. NOW, ON JULY 14, THEIR DECLARATION STATES THAT THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT "HAS NOW LOST ALL CREDIBILITY." OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT THEY SAY IT HAS NOT "MADE A SINGLE STEP FORWARD IN THE TRANSITION. EVERY MOVE THAT HAS BEEN MADE HAS HELPED TO ENTRENCH THE RHODESIA FRONT GOVERNMENT AND MAJORITY RULE IS AS FAR AWAY NOW AS IT HAS EVER BEEN." THE GROUP SUGGESTS REMOVING DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION, RESTRUCTURING THE ARMED FORCES ON THE BASIS OF PARTICIPATION BY ALL ELEMENTS, CONVENING AN ALL PARTY CONFERENCE AND HOLDING AN ELECTION. THEY SUGGEST THAT BRITAIN INTERVENE BY SENDING ITS RESIDENT COMMISSIONER HERE AFTER GETTING A PRIVATE COMMITMENT FROM THE ARMED FORCES THAT HE WOULD NOT BE OPPOSED. GRAHAM SAID THAT IT WOULD ALSO BE NECESSARY FOR THE CONSTITUTED AUTHORITIES TO ACCEPT OUR PROPOSAL. I NOTED THAT MOVING BY WAY OF A CONFERENCE MIGHT BE PREFERABLE. A RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD IMMEDIATELY BECOME RESPONSIBLE FOR LAW AND ORDER. HE WOULD NEED ASSURANCES THAT A CEASE FIRE WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY ALL PARTIES BEFORE HE COULD UNDERTAKE SUCH MISSION. OTHERWISE HE WOULD SIMPLY INHERIT THE WAR.

6. CO-MINISTER OF FINANCE ERNEST BULLE.

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BULLE IS AN NDEBELE MEMBER OF MUZOREWA'S UANC. HE WAS A FORMER ZAPU MEMBER AND IS PERHAPS THE BRIGHTEST AND MOST ARTICULATE AFRICAN MINISTER NOW IN THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT. WE DISCUSSED FIRST THE ECONOMY, BULLE NOTING THAT HE BELIEVED THEY HAD NOW PLACED THEIR CHROME SALES THIS YEAR

WHICH WOULD SAVE THEM FOR ANOTHER YEAR IN TERMS OF FOREIGN EXCHANGE EARNINGS. HE CLEARLY IMPLIED THAT THE ULTIMATE PURCHASER WAS THE SOVIET UNION AND HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT AND STIFF CONTROL MEASURES APPLIED BY THE U.S. HAD MADE LIFE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT ON SALES TO OTHERS. BULLE EXPRESSED HIS STRONG OPPOSITION TO JOSHUA NKOMO AND DEDICATION TO A MILITARY FIGHT AGAINST HIM, ONCE POWER WAS TRANSFERRED TO THE UANC IN DECEMBER. BULLE RECOGNIZED THE INADEQUACIES OF THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. HE SAID THAT THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS HAD BEEN FORCED TO ACCEPT IT BUT AS SOON AS POWER WAS TURNED OVER TO THEM ON DECEMBER 31 THEY WOULD CORRECT ITS SHORTCOMINGS. HE IS CRITICAL AND IMPATIENT WITH THE WHITE MINISTERS WITH WHOM HE HAS TO WORK WITH THE EXCEPTION OF DAVID SMITH WHOM HE FEELS IS BOTH SYMPATHETIC AND INTELLIGENT. BULLE IS A MEMBER OF THE COMMISSION TO EXAMINE DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION AND IS HORRIFIED AT THE APPOINTMENT TO IT OF TWO SUCH REACTIONARIES AS IRVINE AND HAYMAN. THEY WILL NEVER CONCEDE ANYTHING, HE SAID. BULLE SAID HE BELIEVES SMITH IS GRADUALLY BECOMING CONVINCED THAT ACTION IS NEEDED TO ELIMINATE DISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION. ONCE THE WHITE REFERENDUM IS OUT OF THE WAY AND THE CONSTITUTION HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY PARLIAMENT, SMITH HAS AGREED TO STEP DOWN (END OF SEPTEMBER). DAVID SMITH WILL TAKE OVER AND THINGS WILL START MOVING.

7. WE PRESSED THE ADVANTAGES OF GOING TO AN ALL PARTIES MEETING. HE RAISED STRONG OBJECTIONS AT FIRST BUT LISTENED MORE AND MORE QUIETLY AS THE CONVERSATION PROCEEDED. WE TOLD HIM THAT IF THE TWO THINGS HE WANTED WERE AN END TO THE WAR AND AN ELECTION, THAT IT WAS UNLIKELY THAT EITHER COULD BE CONFIDENTIAL

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ACHIEVED THROUGH THE PRESENT COURSE BUT THAT BOTH MIGHT BE ATTAINABLE THROUGH A MEETING. TOWARDS THE END OF THE MEAL HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT EVEN THOUGH A MEETING MIGHT NOT SUCCEED AND MIGHT TURN OUT TO BE "A WASTE OF TIME". 85 2- - 2945#- WHILE CHANCE AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO CONTINUING THE WAR. FINALLY, WE ASKED HIM HIS VIEW OF THE MATTER. HE SAID HE WOULD SUPPORT AN ALL PARTIES MEETING PROVIDED THAT FIRST THERE WERE NO PRECONDITIONS (BY THAT HE MEANT THE INTERNAL GROUP WAS NOT ASKED TO ABANDON THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT BEFORE IT WENT TO THE MEETING.) AND SECOND THAT IT BE HELD IN STRICT PRIVACY. WE SAID WE AGREED WITH BOTH VIEWS. HOWEVER, IN OUR VIEW WHILE NO ONE SHOULD HAVE TO ABANDON THEIR POSITION BEFORE THEY CAME TO THE MEETING, IT WOULD HARDLY BE WORTH HOLDING IT IF THEY WERE NOT READY TO CONSIDER MOVING ON DURING THE COURSE OF IT. THEY COULD ALWAYS REJECT THE MODIFICATION IF THEY DID NOT FEEL IT TO BE IN THEIR INTEREST, BUT A SUCCESSFUL MEETING WILL CLEARLY HAVE TO MOVE BEYOND THE MARCH 3 AGREEMENT. AT THAT BULLE WISHED US LUCK. WE BELIEVE HE CAN BE AN INFLUENTIAL SUPPORTER IN OUR EFFORT TO CONVENE A MEETING. FARBER

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